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Accordingly rape was unknown, the only contrary instance being that of an Indian who had been intoxicated to senselessness in a Neobrazilian house; on the way home he ravished his twelve-year old daughter, but on coming to he had not the slightest recollection of his deed.

DAILY DANCES

The relations of the young people of opposite sex are best illustrated by their joint dances in the plaza, which normally take place three times every day during the ceremonial season. The party includes as participants:

1. The precentor, ikrérekaté. Of this category the Canella have two or three good representatives and a number of mediocre ones. The younger ones who show talent are instructed by the older precentors, at whose side they appear. A worthy precentor requires a good voice, a good memory for the innumerable dance songs, and bodily endurance. His instrument is the dance rattle, ko'tõi, made of the rind, usually painted red, of a *Crescentia cuiete*, mounted on a wooden handle that projects above as an elongated tip, by which the rattle can be planted in the ground (pl. 32, *b*, *c*). At the grip end a rectangular hole in the handle permits the insertion of a plaited wrist loop, which has a long tassel. The precentor is by no means a medicine-man nor has his rattle the slightest religious significance, as Abreu erroneously assumes.[109]

A remarkable description of the rattle wielded by a Põrekamekra precentor is given by Pohl: "This [precentor] carried in his right hand a ¾-yard-long staff along which a blackened coconut shell could be pushed up and down by the movement of the body. Within the shell were maize kernels, which produced a loud noise." I have never seen such an instrument, which recalls the "taran" observed by Snethlage among the Moré of the upper Madeira region. But Pohl does not seem to have closely viewed the object he describes, for it could hardly have been a "coconut shell" and the "maize kernels" were presumably the black pamtiį seeds which both the Eastern and Western Timbira exclusively use and specially cultivate for this purpose.

The precentor generally wears a forehead band, a neck band with a tassel for the back of the neck, sashes across the chest, sometimes cotton bracelets—never a loincloth such as Jurandyr Paes Leme paints in representing a Ponto dance.[110]

2. The precentress, mehõkrepúi, has already been referred to (p. 97).

3. The girls from about their seventh year until at least their first pregnancy. Many a woman eagerly participates even subsequently so far as the care of her infant permits. On the other hand, women of the critical age or grandmothers never take part.

4. The males comprise at least the older members of the unofficial boys' class and the two junior official classes, mepantúa.

If the youths are otherwise engaged, the girls will dance by themselves, but this is certainly not the normal thing, contrary to what might be inferred from Snethlage's and Abreu's reports, both of which mention only the dancing girls and the precentor, saying nothing about the participation of young men. Indeed, Snethlage goes so far as to speak of a "women's dance."[111]

[109] Frões Abreu, Terra das Palmeiras, 180, 182.

[110] Frões Abreu, op. cit., 182. Pohl, Reise, 2:201. "Dieser trug in der Rechten einen drey viertel Ellen langen Stab, an welchem eine schwarz gefärbte Kokosschale durch die Bewegung des Körpers auf und niedergeschoben werden konnte. In der Schale waren Maiskörner, welche ein lautes Geräusche verursachten."

[111] Snethlage, Nordostbras. Ind., 180.

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685 The commonest form of larceny is that of women stealing one another's fruits in their plantations. If only small quantities are involved, the sufferer for the sake of harmony says nothing. Otherwise the aggrieved party, desiring to evade a quarrel with the thief, appeals to the councilors, who force the thief to make restitution or pay an indemnity. It is difficult for a native to steal undetected, for a single footprint is more damaging evidence than if he had left a visiting card. On a single occasion I overheard a woman loudly calling another names for more than five minutes, shouting over from her own house to the thief's, because of repeated plundering of the vituperator's field. Then her husband intervened to lead her indoors, which put a stop to the affair. Contrary to Ribeiro's evidence, I have never seen anyone beaten up for larceny.

685 177 As to the cattle lifting that has given the Ramkõ'kamekra an unmerited notoriety in the state of Maranhão, a few explanatory statements are indicated. At first the cattle were killed because they were considered a palatable form of game. Later the Indians realized that the livestock was the property of their enemies, to whom they were thus able to cause damage. Still later they concluded treaties, were torn away from their habitat and their economic basis and were thus forced to steal cattle to stave off starvation in the new circumstances created by the Neobrazilians. Today the game of the country has been destroyed and driven off by the stock-breeding fazendeiros, so that when obliged, especially in connection with a tribal festival, to secure the requisite meat, the Indians have to hunt for weeks in vain. They consider themselves entitled now and then to eat some of the fazendeiros' livestock because these animals graze on Indian plantations, where they may even be deliberately driven by their owners with the intention of making life in the locality intolerable for the natives. From time to time the sertão settlers whip themselves into a moral indignation over the Indians' terrible depredations among the hard-won herds of the pitiable fazendeiros, who wear themselves to the bone year in, year out, only to see the whole produce of their labors disappear in the natives' bellies.

The worst enemy of the Ramkõ'kamekra, José de Arruda, once set the annual number of cattle the Ramkõ'kamekra stole from him at several hundred. I know that cattle lifting is a fact and am now in a position to gauge the damage done, which from 1928 to 1937 certainly did not exceed *six* head annually, the average being probably three to four, distributed over as many owners. Where there are no Indians, cattle theft also occurs; but within the Indian zone I have never heard a non-Indian charged with the crime.

733 177 689 A second form of crime occasioned by contact with civilization is due to intoxicants. The Brazilian criminal's eternal plea of extenuating circumstances because he had not been himself is nonsensical from the Indian point of view. However, that a man befuddled with whisky is irresponsible is obvious to the natives. At present they are familiar enough with the use of liquor, yet they are not quite clear how to reckon with misdeeds perpetrated while drunk; they vacillate between regarding the drunkard wholly unaccountable because of his condition and considering on a par crimes in sober and in intoxicated state.

As a matter of fact, crimes due to alcoholism are far less numerous than might be supposed, the following cases having come to my notice. The gravest was the rape of an immature girl by her father (p. 114), which resulted in his wife's divorcing him. In a second instance a drunken Indian rather seriously injured his wife by striking her hand with a bush-knife; but after a period of separation it was possible to reconcile the pair by calling attention to their children's interests. Otherwise, I

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deceased than she quite suddenly falls to blubbering rhythmically for several minutes. Such lamentation is indispensable if some tribesman arrives whom the mourner has not seen since her loss or who has been away for some time. In the latter case—as whenever I myself return—another idea coöperates: sympathy with the homecoming traveler, who is supposed to have been exposed to all manner of privations, maltreatment, and dangers during his absence. He seats himself on the mat as described above, his kinswomen lay their heads or arms against his shoulder and bawl in the way indicated, actually shedding tears, and some of them working themselves into a profound state of excitement. On one occasion a mother gave vent to sentiments of despondent grief when she caught sight of a feather ornament given me by her daughter, who had died during my absence.

During major festivals lamentations of this sort are always to be heard emanating from some house or other: The inmates remember some dead relative who would have played a part in the present proceedings if still alive or recall a child on whom the role should have devolved. At major log races I have several times seen some age class throw down the log and then at once trot over to the maternal home of their deceased champion runner in order to join his relatives in bewailing him.

DIVISION OF LABOR

As superficial observers are wont to do, Fróes Abreu alleges that Rąmkõ'kamekra men lead a life of idleness while women labor.[178] As stated in the relevant sections, all hard work—the clearing of woods, hunting, war—devolves solely on the men, who moreover take part in a series of supplementary activities. It is true that the development of agriculture, the recession of the chase, and the elimination of war have increased feminine work and diminished masculine obligations. On the other hand, women hardly gather wild fruits any more and the construction of more substantial houses, along with the rise of a by no means insignificant home industry, has added to masculine labor. Abreu declares that the women manufacture baskets and mats (p. 180), yet pictures a matmaking man (p. 58)! His statement holds only for certain special types of basketry; others and also mats, the most important article for trade, are never made by women. Burity mats, large, rectangular food bags and lidded suspension pouches are for the most part of Rąmkõ'kamekra, in small measure of Apą'nyekra, provenience. They are found in pretty nearly all houses of the central interior of Maranhão and especially in the shops of Barra do Cordo. This industry fails to develop more rapidly for the solitary reason that all trading between the Rąmkõ'kamekra and the whites is aimed at mutual cheating.

The most one can say is that as the children's caretaker and the sole laborer at domestic chores woman is more constantly employed than man. In any case she is far too independent by virtue of her social status to turn into an idle husband's beast of labor.

DIVORCE

Only a few reasons warrant the rupture of marriage with a virgin—barrenness, grave maltreatment, and adultery. As for the first-mentioned ground, I know of only one case, and even there I gained the impression that the wife's sterility was a pretext rather than the real reason. Excessive abuse of a woman led to divorce in a few instances, all of them the result of alcoholism. Adultery on either side is the commonest reason, though, as among the Apinayé, many spouses are willing to overlook a mate's straying from the narrow path. However, Abreu exaggerates beyond all reason in alleging that "as Canellos desconhecem a fidelidade conjugal"

[178] Fróes Abreu, Terra das Palmeiras, 179.

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was told, the family of the injured wife would have demanded indemnification. Again, an intoxicated Indian kicked his wife and she was ailing for some time after; a divorce ensued, but no further consequences. In addition I noted four or five rather harmless drunken brawls. When a drunkard remains a nuisance, the chiefs have him tied unless the man's relatives have already resorted to that measure, not as a penalty but a precaution. I have never seen in any Timbira village a post to which culprits are tied by way of punishment.[557]

The damages demanded when defloration is not followed by wedlock and the attitude toward adultery have been described.

Disciplinary transgressions are punished only in the case of the lads in initiatory seclusion. During the nocturnal reunions of the pepyé in their first commandant's courtyard, the culprit was called to appear between the double line of pepyé seated along the walls, where the second commandant addressed to him a prolix rebuke. In graver cases the boy had to lift his arms and the two messenger boys administered several lashes on his back with the long, thin rods (pĩhêre) that are their inseparable appanage. A pepyé who breaks the rule of chastity is forced to eat great quantities of Cayenne pepper. In 1933 the councilors were about to decree this penalty for Tepyét because he sneaked out of his retreat every night to visit his fiancée; but when Tepyét saw that the elders really meant to punish him, he altered his conduct in the nick of time. Among the Apą'nyekra such a culprit would be removed from his retreat and set in the plaza beside his associate in guilt, which was regarded as very ignominious.

Evil sorcerers were executed (see p. 239 f.).

The following legal principles emerge from the concrete instances: (1) Both the culprit and the aggrieved party are aided by the extended families; (2) the chiefs and councilors take pains to adjust quarrels as soon as possible; (3) for this purpose they use the services either of specially gifted persons or of the individuals linked by specially close ties to the parties involved.

Chiefs.—As indicated above, a chief does not command and punish, but is above all a peacemaker. He does not interfere in a family's private affairs, but when his decision is requested it is held binding. At the time of my visit there were three village chiefs, Ropką' (Jaguar-skin), Hąktokót, and Kukrãčą'. Ropką', the oldest, had been mamkyẽ'ti of an age-class that graduated about 1893, but his colleagues had never served in a corresponding capacity. Whenever strife threatens, the chiefs and councilors send men of recognized skill as moderators to calm a refractory tribesman.

The leader of any unit excepting the age-classes is called pa'hí, mehopa'hí, but only a village chief is hąmrén.

Chiefs exercise little political control and display a minimum of individual assertiveness, for the omnipresent ceremonial regulates most of the social life, and it is their and the council's duty to maintain the customary law rather than legislate anew. Chiefs lack badges of official status and receive not a whit more of the food offerings periodically presented in the plaza than the councilors associated with them. They work for a living precisely as any fellow tribesman. However, they do enjoy a measure of prestige, as shown by certain rules of etiquette. Thus, strangers must present themselves to one of the chiefs and explain the object of their visit; he may then either discuss the matter with his colleagues and the council at their next session or immediately call an extraordinary meeting. In the plaza a chief always sits near the center, for it would be indecorous for anyone else to seat himself in front of a chief or to turn his back upon him.

[557] As related by Pompeu Sobrinho, Merrime, 13.

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The pepkahą'k sit in a circle on the mats, with a f..ed position of their legs, grasp each staff at about the level of the head and brace it vertically against the ground. In the middle of the circle sits the old precentor, opposite him the girls. The chant begins in very low and deep tones, in sharply stressed two-fourths time, for the singers rhythmically rock their bodies with a circular movement from the right forward toward the left, always resting on their staffs. The girl associates, who are without staffs, sit immobile. From the village this initial chant sounds almost like the muffled, rhythmic noise of a machine in motion. After a while there are songs with words. Now the girls' loud and clear notes drown the dull masculine chorus of men and youths. After a while all rise and continue their songs standing, always propped on their staffs and lightly stamping their right feet during the rotary movement of their bodies. Thus the songs continue from seven till midnight or even later. Between every two stanzas there is a short intermission, often hardly a second in duration; at greater intervals a longer pause is interpolated, during which all sit down and rest. No one utters a word throughout the entire performance, only the leaders occasionally whisper some direction. If the nocturnal bird called *rasga-mortalha* by the Brazilians (*Caprimulgus* sp.) utters his cry during a song, the chant abruptly ceases. Ordinarily some forty stanzas are sung each night.

Kentapí, the girl associate of 1928, who still remembered most of the texts spontaneously and as Ką'e's niece could easily get relevant information, dictated to me painfully (for like all other informants, she would constantly lose the context) a number of stanzas, but she was able to translate them no more than any fellow villager. So far as I credit myself with grasping the meaning, the lines refer exclusively to animals, especially to birds and their food, each verse dealing with a single species:

1. hinarí karakõčĩ' kukrį'ti
   ? soar king vultures
2. kaka teyarĩ tomó pųpų're ha teyarĩ tomó
   ? step waterfowl? step
3. yu krẽkahą'ka kõrat nayeneką'
   ? maracaná ? ?
4. hõtire, hõtire vinekpĩkąepiẽą ta'nõiamã
   curica curica no food ? wait
5. krẽtire krẽtire nekupekuipeẽą nehõkaẽą
   periquito periquito eat ? ?
6. hĩkuti takąmã punaputẽ
   tiuba seeks a hole
7. čuti kaką'ra kaka punatẽ napui kačwẽ napui kaprõ'
   big mutuca horsefly blood
   maipõ' napučáne čukaką'ra

Disturbances.—The intrusion of Neobrazilian whisky dealers now interfered with the normal procedure. One of the leaders of the pepkahą'k was found on the steppe dead drunk, and the girl associates began to break seclusion every night to sleep in their mothers' houses for fear of the constantly besotted members. I asked Kentapí whether the same lack of discipline had characterized the festival in 1928 when she had served as associate. She was very indignant, her brother Pąnhí being one of the present drunkards, and declared that no whisky had got to the society on the previous occasion, the leaders had rigorously maintained order, she herself had been tied up for hours for having once broken internment and sneaked off to her mother's home. That year the girl associates had felt perfectly safe by day or night; no one had so much as thought of undue liberties. Also the pepkahą'k had suffered no dearth of meat then and felt no need to steal strangers' cattle. The mem-

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bers had made hunting trips for days into the wooded Serra do Alpercatas and returned with considerable smoked meat especially of wild pigs. On one occasion her father, Nyõ'hí, had shot three ostriches on one day and donated two to the pepkahą'k.

The next day I confiscated a whisky dealer's stock, then when the council invited me, as usual, to join their evening session, I seriously remonstrated with them because of the degeneration of the festival into a drunken carousal, pointing out the fatal consequences of such contempt for old tradition on the entire tribal organization. Finally I said that in such circumstances I no longer cared to attend the celebration and would depart. Fortunately an appeal to ancient usage almost always produces a good effect on these Indians. The elders were visibly ashamed, took my part and acted accordingly, so that the excesses ceased and the festival was resumed according to program.

Ducks and Falcons.—During the entire period of seclusion these societies maintained a holiday spirit in the village by almost daily dances and log races. Since sundry families were behind schedule with their rice harvest, they repeatedly called on these societies for aid, which was always readily granted. The entire organization would then move for several days to the applicants' farm, loaf, and dance half of the time, but assist at the harvest during the remainder. As compensation they were content with receiving their board and a small quantity of rice, which the girl associates were told to prepare for a common meal in the lodge on the members' return to the village. The homeward trip of course always took the form of a log race.

Various activities.—On May 20 greater variety was ushered in with a race arranged by the pepkahą'k from the plaza to their hut of seclusion. On the next day the villagers began carefully to clear the radial paths of grass and rough spots, beginning with the paths leading from the leaders' houses to the plaza. But the requisite labor was not performed by the inmates of a house, but by the hąpín of the pepkahą'k in question, whose kin compensated his "friend" by a gourd bowl filled with food. In the meantime the pepkahą'k themselves fixed the street leading westward outside the village, continuing as far as the Ponto Creek crossing so that the road almost resembled an automobile highway.

On May 24 these labors of the pepkahą'k were finished. Even several days previously they had begun making mats of burity bast, and now this work was zealously continued.

On the morning of the 24th the Ducks and the Falcons ran a race around the boulevard, then the two societies and their girls, forming one long line along the same street, danced from house to house, collecting victuals. With these they moved into the steppe to hunt falcons in order to secure the large quantity of down required for festive body decoration. Those owning guns received ammunition from me.

At 7 P.M. on June 3 all the men assembled in the plaza and grouped themselves in four divisions. This arrangement, which is peculiar to the King Vulture ceremonial, rests on a distinctive principle, viz., the matrilineal descent of the population according to the *tribes* that gradually contributed to the present village community. For the Rąmkõ'kamekra have come to incorporate fragments of the Čą'kamekra, the Karẽ'kateye, and the Krõ'rekamekra (pp. 30–32, 35). Of the Apą'nyekra only two survivors remain in the village, while the Hõtí (=Apinayé) immigrants are quite extinct, so that these two tribes are no longer represented at the segregation in question. The indigenous and numerically quite preponderant Rąmkõ'kamekra occupy the very center, the three surviving immigrant fragments are grouped along the periphery of the plaza according to the direction from which their ancestors